

pendant and the Attorney General. By the terms of the decree the Harvester company was required to sell and dispose of the harvesting machine lines made and sold by it under the trade names of "Osborne," "Milwaukee," and "Champion," together with the Osborne and Champion plants.

In compliance with the decree the International Harvester Co. has sold the Champion and Osborne lines. By a modification of the decree entered in the summer of 1920 the Harvester company has been relieved of the necessity of selling the plants, for the reason that the purchasers of the lines were already engaged in the harvesting implement business with plants of their own. The company has not disposed of the Milwaukee line for the reason that it has not found a purchaser therefor.

On May 4, 1920, the Federal Trade Commission made its report, entitled "Report on the causes of high prices of farm implements," mentioned in the preamble to Resolution No. 223. This report followed a comprehensive investigation of conditions in the farm-implement trade conducted pursuant to a resolution of the Senate. It condemns the decree in the Harvester case as wholly inadequate, because there was no provision for the disposition of either the McCormick or Deering lines of harvesting machines. These lines, it declares, were the predominant lines in 1902, when the Harvester company was formed, and have been continued as the principal ones by that company since, and no dissolution can have the effect to restore competitive conditions which leaves both in the hands of the same company. The report recommends, among other things, that the Harvester case be reopened, "so that a plan of dissolution be arrived at that will restore competitive conditions in the harvesting-machine business."

Paragraph (e) of the final decree provides as follows:
"The object to be attained under the terms of this decree is to restore competitive conditions in the United States in the interstate business in harvesting machines and other agricultural implements; and, in the event that such competitive conditions shall not have been established at the expiration of 18 months after the termination of the existing war in which the United States is engaged (or at the expiration of two years from the date of the entry of this decree, in the event that said war shall be terminated within less than six months after the entry of this decree), then, in that case, the United States shall have the right to such further relief herein as shall be necessary to restore said competitive conditions and to bring about a situation in harmony with law; and this court reserves all necessary jurisdiction and power to carry into effect the provisions of the decrees herein entered."

1. After careful consideration of this language, and of such information as I have been able to obtain relative to the understanding of the negotiations of the decree, I am forced to the conclusion that this provision was intended to set up a test period in which it might be determined whether the relief granted was adequate to the purpose of the decree. In other words, that a period of 18 months from and after the conclusion of the war must elapse within which to judge of the efficacy of the decree before further proceedings may be had thereunder with a view to enlarging the relief. The paragraph does not provide, as has been assumed by the Federal Trade Commission, that during the period in question the United States shall have the right to further relief if competitive conditions have not been restored, but that the United States shall have the right to such relief upon a proper showing at the expiration of such period.

Answering specifically the first question propounded by the Senate, in my opinion the time is not ripe for further proceedings under the decree with a view to obtaining additional relief. At the expiration of the test period set up in the decree the Department of Justice, in consultation with the Federal Trade Commission, will consider what, if any, further relief may be necessary in order to effect the declared purpose of the decree and will take the necessary steps to give effect to the conclusions arrived at.

2. Responding to the alternative question asked in the resolution, I have the honor to advise you that the Department of Justice does not now contemplate any separate and independent action against the International Harvester Co. The Government having put in issue in the pending suit the entire question of the legality of the combination, and that question having been resolved in its favor and a decree entered, the Government is bound by that decree as well as the defendants, and the effect of the decree can not be avoided on the ground that it was improvidently negotiated by former officers of the Department of Justice. Unless the Harvester company shall by further acquisitions of competitors or by oppressive conduct give rise to a new cause of action, additional relief against it as a combination or monopoly will have to be obtained under the terms of the existing decree.

Respectfully,

GUY D. GOFF,
Acting Attorney General.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE CHARLES R. CONNELL.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The resolution (H. Res. 444) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. CHARLES R. CONNELL, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House do now adjourn.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I beg leave to offer the resolution which I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 361) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. CHARLES R. CONNELL, late a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is upon agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN I. NOLAN.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution from the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The resolution (H. Res. 445) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOHN I. NOLAN, a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House do now adjourn.

Mr. SHORTRIDGE. Mr. President, I offer the resolution which I send to the desk, and ask that it may be immediately considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read the resolution offered by the Senator from California.

The resolution (S. Res. 362) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. JOHN I. NOLAN, late a Representative from the State of California.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is upon agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. SHORTRIDGE. Mr. President, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representatives, Mr. NOLAN, of California, and Mr. CONNELL, of Pennsylvania, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, November 22, 1922, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, November 21, 1922.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, clothed with patience and sympathy, Thou dost come with us day by day. In Thee is our faith, and Thou art the sum of all our hopes. Teach us our duty and show us how to employ its standards in their application to the public service. Bring all our citizens together into a true unity of interest and inspire them with a great desire for the things that shall ennoble our whole Nation. O Thou who dwellest in infinite strength, bring to pass the day when the new world shall come in which shall dwell peace, fraternity, and cooperation, and Thy glory shall cover the face of the wide earth. In the name of Jesus, the Prince of peace. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Senate Resolution 357.

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

Senate Resolution 358.

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed, to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

Pursuant to the foregoing resolution, the Vice President had appointed Mr. LODGE and Mr. SIMMONS as members of such committee on the part of the Senate.

Senate Resolution 360.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with deep regret and profound sorrow the announcement of the death of the Hon. THOMAS E. WATSON, late a Senator from the State of Georgia.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, bills of the following titles:

H. R. 367. An act for the relief of J. Irving Brooks; and

H. R. 10144. An act conveying the peninsula of Presque Isle, Erie, Pa., to the State of Pennsylvania, its original owner, for public park purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments, bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 8062. An act amending subdivision (5a) of section 302 of the war risk insurance act.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, without amendment, the following resolution:

House Concurrent Resolution 72.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 21st day of November, 1922, at 12.30 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed joint resolution and bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

S. J. Res. 242. Joint resolution authorizing the erection on public grounds in the District of Columbia of a statue by José Clará personifying "Serenity."

S. 2212. An act for the future safeguarding of the White House collection of the presidential china.

S. 2872. An act to amend section 800 of the revenue act of 1921.

SENATE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

Under clause 2, Rule XXIV, Senate joint resolution and bill of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and referred to their appropriate committees, as indicated below:

S. J. Res. 242. Joint resolution authorizing the erection on public grounds in the District of Columbia of a statue by José Clará personifying "Serenity"; to the Committee on the Library.

S. 2872. An act to amend section 800 of the revenue act of 1921; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bill of the following title:

S. 3300. An act granting a pension to Marie Doughty Gorgas.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR MILEAGE, ETC.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill H. R. 12859, to provide for certain expenses incident to the third session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the appropriations for mileage and stationery for Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, and Delegates from the Territories, and expenses of Resident Commissioners, contained in the act making appropriations for the legislative branch of the Government for the fiscal year 1923, are authorized to be paid to Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, Delegates from the Territories, and Resident Commissioners, for attendance on the third session of the Sixty-seventh Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for session employees on account of the third session of the Sixty-seventh Congress: For 42 pages at \$2.50 per day each from November 20 to December 3, 1922, inclusive, \$1,470; for 3 session telephone operators at the rate of \$75 per month each from November 20 to November 30, 1922, inclusive, \$82.50; in all, \$1,552.50.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill which has just been reported. Is there objection?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, as I observe the first paragraph of this bill simply makes available at this time the mileage appropriation already provided for Members, Delegates, and so forth, for the regular session of this Congress.

Mr. MADDEN. That is all.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. May I ask the gentleman a question which, I take it, will likely arise? Has he himself or his committee, or both, considered the question of mileage as applied to the next regular session of this Congress in the event that we make this available at this time?

Mr. MADDEN. There has been no consideration given to the question of mileage for the next regular session, but I say frankly to the gentleman from Tennessee and to the Members of the House that personally I think there ought not to be any additional mileage; that the payment of mileage already appropriated ought to apply to cover the entire period of this special session of Congress and the next regular session which will begin on December 4 next; that no additional appropriation should be made. So far as I am concerned, I am opposed to making any additional appropriation. I can not speak for the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I agree with the gentleman in his views, Mr. Speaker, but it seemed to me quite desirable at this time to have an official statement, and the gentleman can practically make an official statement on this subject.

Mr. MADDEN. I shall not submit for the consideration of the Committee on Appropriations any proposal to appropriate any additional sum for mileage for the period ending on the 4th of March next.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. It is contemplated, of course, that this extra session will run into the other?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; that it will merge into the regular session. I would say also, for the information of the House, that in 1913 a special session of the Congress was called on April 7. That session ran through the summer and up into the regular session of Congress beginning in December, and continued on until the next October. For 19 months the Congress was in constant session. Mileage at the beginning of the special session was made available, as this bill proposes now, but there was no additional appropriation for the regular session, and it would be unwise and unjust for us to undertake to make additional appropriations for the session about to begin on the 4th of December next and end on the 4th of March following. [Applause.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. The gentleman is following a good precedent. Will the gentleman kindly give us some information about the second paragraph, the item in respect to pages?

Mr. MADDEN. It is for the pay of the pages, who will be paid only for the period of their service from now until the 4th of December. After the regular session begins their pay is provided for in the annual appropriation bills. This is simply to meet the expenses between now and when that session begins.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I assume that this merely includes the House pages?

Mr. MADDEN. Just the House pages.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And the Senate will have to amend the bill to include their own pages?

Mr. MADDEN. Yes; if there is any such thing.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. MADDEN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE TO WAIT UPON THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the committee appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join with a committee on the part of the Senate to notify the President of the United States that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication that he may be pleased to make, I have the honor to report that the committee has performed its duty and that the President of the United States has informed the joint committee that he will be pleased to communicate with the Congress in person to-day.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following concurrent resolution for a joint session to receive the communication of the President of the United States, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution 72.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 21st day of November, 1922, at 12.30 o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

RECESS.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the House stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent that the House stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock and 14 minutes p. m., the House stood in recess.

AFTER RECESS.

The recess having expired, the House (at 12 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.) resumed its session.

JOINT SESSION OF SENATE AND HOUSE.

At 12 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m. the members of the President's Cabinet entered the hall and took seats on the left of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 12 o'clock and 29 minutes p. m. the Doorkeeper announced the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Members of the Senate.

The Members of the House rose.

The Senate, preceded by their President pro tempore and their Sergeant at Arms, entered the Chamber.

The President pro tempore of the Senate took the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the following committee on behalf of the House to wait upon the President and escort him to the Hall: Mr. MONDELL, Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts, Mr. EDMONDS, Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee, and Mr. LAZARO.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore of the Senate. On behalf of the Senate the Chair appoints the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], the Senator from Washington [Mr. JONES], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. NELSON].

At 12 o'clock and 29 minutes p. m. the President of the United States, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House, was announced by the Doorkeeper, and stood at the Clerk's desk amid applause on the floor and in the galleries.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT. Members of the Congress: Late last February I reported to you relative to the American merchant marine, and recommended legislation which the executive branch of the Government deemed essential to promote our merchant marine and with it our national welfare. Other problems were pressing and other questions pending, and for one reason or another, which need not be recited, the suggested legislation has not progressed beyond a favorable recommendation by the House committee. The committee has given the question a full and painstaking inquiry and study, and I hope that its favorable report speedily will be given the force of law.

It will be helpful in clearing the atmosphere if we start with the frank recognition of divided opinion and determined opposition. It is no new experience. Like proposals have divided the Congress on various previous occasions. Perhaps a more resolute hostility never was manifest before, and I am very sure the need for decisive action—decisive, favorable action—never was so urgent before.

We are not now dealing with a policy founded on theory; we have a problem which is one of grim actuality. We are facing insistent conditions, out of which will come either additional and staggering Government losses and national impotence on the seas, or else the unfurling of the flag on a great American merchant marine commensurate with our commercial importance, to serve as carrier of our cargoes in peace and meet the necessities of our defense in war. There is no thought here and now to magnify the relation of a merchant marine to our national defense. It is enough to recall that we entered the World War almost wholly dependent on our Allies for transportation by sea. We expended approximately three billions, feverishly, extravagantly, wastefully, and impractically. Out of our eagerness to make up for the omissions of peace and to meet the war emergency we builded and otherwise acquired the vast merchant fleet which the Government owns to-day.

In the simplest way I can say it, our immediate problem is not to build and support a merchant shipping, which I hold to be one of the highest and most worthy aspirations of any great people; our problem is to deal with what we now possess. Our problem is to relieve the Public Treasury of the drain it is already meeting. Let us omit particulars about the frenzied war-time building. Possibly we did full as well as could have been done in the anxious circumstances. Let us pass for the moment the vital relationship between a merchant marine and a commercially aspiring nation. Aye, let us suppose for a moment the absurdity that with one \$3,000,000,000 experience, and with the incalculable costs in lives and treasure which may be chargeable to our inability promptly to apply our potency—which God forefend happening again—let us momentarily

ignore all of these and turn to note the mere business problem, the practical question of dollars and cents with which we are confronted.

The war construction and the later completion of war contracts, where completion was believed to be the greater economy to the Public Treasury, left us approximately 13,200,000 gross tonnage in ships. The figures are nearer 12,500,000 tons now, owing to the scrapping of the wooden fleet. More than half this tonnage is Government owned, and approximately 2,250,000 tons are under Government operation in one form or another. The net loss to the United States Treasury—sums actually taken therefrom in this Government operation—averaged approximately \$16,000,000 per month during the year prior to the assumption of responsibility by the present administration. A constant warfare on this loss of public funds, and the draft to service of capable business management and experienced operating directors, have resulted in applied efficiency and enforced economies. It is very gratifying to report the diminution of the losses to \$4,000,000 per month, or a total of \$50,000,000 a year; but it is intolerable that the Government should continue a policy from which so enormous a Treasury loss is the inevitable outcome. This loss, moreover, attends operation of less than a third of the Government-owned fleet.

It is not, therefore, a question of adding new Treasury burdens to maintain our shipping; we are paying these burdens now. It is not a question of contracting an outlay to support our merchant shipping, because we are paying already. I am not asking your authorization of a new and added draft on the Public Treasury; I am appealing for a program to diminish the burden we are already bearing.

When your executive government knows of public expenditures aggregating fifty millions annually, which it believes could be reduced by half through a change of policy, your government would be unworthy of public trust if such a change were not commended, nay, if it were not insistently urged.

And the pity of it is that our present expenditure in losses is not constructive. It looks to no future attainments. It is utterly ineffective in the establishment of a dependable merchant marine, whereas the encouragement of private ownership and the application of individual initiative would make for a permanent creation, ready and answerable at all times to the needs of the Nation.

But I have not properly portrayed all the current losses to the Public Treasury. We are wearing out our ships without any provision for replacement. We are having these losses through deterioration now, and are charging nothing against our capital account. But the losses are there, and regrettably larger under Government operation than under private control. Only a few years of continued losses on capital account will make these losses through depreciation alone to exceed the fifty millions a year now drawn to cover losses in operation.

The gloomy picture of losses does not end even there. Notwithstanding the known war cost of \$3,000,000,000 for the present tonnage, I will not venture to appraise its cash value to-day. It may as well be confessed now as at some later time that in the mad rush to build, in establishing shipyards wherever men would organize to expend Government money, when we made shipbuilders overnight quite without regard to previous occupations or pursuits, we builded poorly, often very poorly. Moreover, we constructed without any formulated program for a merchant marine. The war emergency impelled, and the cry was for ships, any kind of ships. The error is recalled in regret rather than criticism. The point is that our fleet, costing approximately \$3,000,000,000, is worth only a fraction of that cost to-day. Whatever that fraction may be, the truth remains that we have no market in which to sell the ships under our present policy, and a program of surrender and sacrifice and the liquidation which is inevitable unless the pending legislation is sanctioned, will cost scores of millions more.

When the question is asked, Why the insistence for the merchant marine act now? the answer is apparent. Waiving every inspiration which lies in a constructive plan for maintaining prudence in safeguarding against another \$3,000,000,000 madness if war ever again impels, we have the unavoidable task of wiping out a \$50,000,000 annual loss in operation, and losses aggregating many hundreds of millions in worn-out, sacrificed, or scrapped shipping. Then the supreme humiliation, the admission that the United States—our America, once eminent among the maritime nations of the world—is incapable of asserting itself in the peace triumphs on the seas of the world. It would seem to me doubly humiliating when we own the ships and fall in the genius and capacity to turn their prows toward the marts of the world.

This problem can not longer be ignored, its attempted solution can not longer be postponed. The failure of Congress to act decisively will be no less disastrous than adverse action.

Three courses of action are possible, and the choice among them is no longer to be avoided.

The first is constructive—enact the pending bill, under which, I firmly believe, an American merchant marine, privately owned and privately operated, but serving all the people and always available to the Government in any emergency, may be established and maintained.

The second is obstructive—continue Government operations and attending Government losses and discourage private enterprise by Government competition, under which losses are met by the Public Treasury, and witness the continued losses and deterioration until the colossal failure ends in sheer exhaustion.

The third is destructive—involving the sacrifice of our ships abroad or the scrapping of them at home, the surrender of our aspirations, and the confession of our impotence to the world in general, and our humiliation before the competing world in particular.

A choice among the three is inevitable. It is unbelievable that the American people or the Congress which expresses their power will consent to surrender and destruction. It is equally unbelievable that our people and the Congress which translates their wishes into action will longer sustain a program of obstruction and attending losses to the Treasury.

I have come to urge the constructive alternative, to reassert an American "We will." [Applause.] I have come to ask you to relieve the responsible administrative branch of the Government from a program upon which failure and hopelessness and staggering losses are written for every page, and let us turn to a program of assured shipping to serve us in war and to give guaranty to our commercial independence in peace.

I know full well the hostility in the popular mind to the word "subsidy." It is stressed by the opposition and associated with "special privilege" by those who are unfailing advocates of Government aid whenever vast numbers are directly concerned. "Government aid" would be a fairer term than "subsidy" in defining what we are seeking to do for our merchant marine, and the interests are those of all the people, even though the aid goes to the few who serve.

If Government aid is a fair term—and I think it is—to apply to authorizations aggregating \$75,000,000 to promote good roads for market highways, it is equally fit to be applied to the establishment and maintenance of American market highways on the salted seas. If Government aid is the proper designation for fifteen to forty millions annually expended to improve and maintain inland waterways in aid of commerce, it is a proper designation for a needed assistance to establish and maintain ocean highways where there is actual commerce to be carried.

But call it "subsidy," since there are those who prefer to appeal to mistaken prejudice rather than make frank and logical argument. We might so call the annual loss of fifty millions, which we are paying now without protest by those who most abhor, we might as well call that a "subsidy." If so, I am proposing to cut it in half, approximately, and to the saving thus effected there would be added millions upon millions of further savings through ending losses on capital account—Government capital, out of the Public Treasury, always remember—and there would be at least the promise and the prospect of the permanent establishment of the needed merchant marine.

I challenged every insinuation of favored interests and the enrichment of the special few at the expense of the Public Treasury. I am, first of all, appealing to save the Treasury. Perhaps the unlimited bestowal of Government aid might justify the apprehension of special favoring, but the pending bill, the first ever proposed which carries such a provision, automatically guards against enrichment or perpetuated bestowal. It provides that shipping lines receiving Government aid must have their actual investment and their operating expenses audited by the Government, that Government aid will only be paid until the shipping enterprise earns 10 per cent on actual capital employed, and immediately that when more than 10 per cent earning is reached half of the excess earnings must be applied to the repayment of the Government aid which has been previously advanced. Thus the possible earnings are limited to a very reasonable amount if capital is to be risked and management is to be attracted. If success attends, as we hope it will, the Government outlay is returned, the inspiration of opportunity to earn remains, and American transportation by sea is established.

Though differing in detail, it is not more in proportion to their population and capacity than other great nations have

done in aiding the establishment of their merchant marines, and it is timely to recall that we gave them our commerce to aid in their upbuilding, while the American task now is to upbuild and establish in the face of their most active competition. Indeed, the American development will have to overcome every obstacle which may be put in our path, except as international comity forbids. Concern about our policy is not limited to our own domain, though the interest abroad is of very differing character. I hope it is seemly to say it, because it must be said, the maritime nations of the world are in complete accord with the opposition here to the pending measure. They have a perfect right to such an attitude. When we look from their viewpoints we can understand. But I wish to stress the American viewpoint. Ours should be the viewpoint from which one sees American carriers at sea, the dependence of American commerce, and American vessels for American reliance in the event of war. Some of the costly lessons of war must be learned again and again, but our shipping lesson in the World War was much too costly to be effaced from the memory of this or future generations.

Not so many months ago the head of a company operating a fleet of ships under our flag called at the Executive Offices to discuss a permit to transfer his fleet of cargo vessels to a foreign flag, though he meant to continue them in a distinctly American service. He based his request for transfer on the allegation that by such a transfer he could reduce his labor costs alone sufficiently to provide a profit on capital invested. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the statement nor mean to discuss it. The allusion is made to recall that in good conscience Congress has created by law conditions surrounding labor on American ships which shipping men the world over declare result in higher costs of operation under our flag. I frankly rejoice if higher standards for labor on American ships have been established. Merest justice suggests that when Congress fixes these standards it is fair to extend Government aid in maintaining them until world competition is brought to the same high level, or until our shipping lines are so firmly established that they can face world competition alone. [Applause.]

Having discussed in detail the policy and provisions of the pending bill when previously addressing you, I forbear a repetition now. In individual exchanges of opinion not a few in House or Senate have expressed personal sympathy with the purposes of the bill and then uttered a discouraging doubt about the sentiment of their constituencies. It would be most discouraging if a measure of such transcending national importance must have its fate depend on geographical, occupational, professional, or partisan objections. Frankly, I think it loftier statesmanship to support and commend a policy designed to effect the larger good to the Nation than merely to record the too hasty impressions of a constituency. Out of the harmonized aspirations, the fully informed convictions, and the united efforts of all the people will come the greater Republic. Commercial eminence on the seas, ample agencies for the promotion and carrying of our foreign commerce, are of no less importance to the people of Mississippi and the Missouri Valley, the great Northwest, and the Rocky Mountain States than to the seaboard States and industrial communities building inland a thousand miles or more. It is a common cause, with its benefits commonly shared. When people fail in the national viewpoint, and live in the confines of community selfishness or narrowness, the sun of this Republic will have passed its meridian, and our larger aspirations will shrivel in the approaching twilight.

But let us momentarily put aside the aspiring and inspiring viewpoint. The blunt, indisputable fact of the loss of fifty millions a year under Government operation remains; likewise the fast diminishing capital account, the enormous war expenditure, to which we were forced because we had not fittingly encouraged and builded as our commerce expanded in peace. Here are facts to deal with, not fancies wrought out of our political and economic disputes. The abolition of the annual loss and the best salvage of the capital account are of concern to all the people.

It is my firm belief that the combined savings of operating losses and the protection of the capital account through more advantageous sales of our war-built or war-seized ships, because of the favoring policy which the pending bill will establish, will more than pay every dollar expended in Government aid for 25 years to come.

It should be kept in mind that the approximate sum of five millions annually paid for the transport of ocean mails is no new expenditure. It should be kept in mind that the loan fund to encourage building is not new; it is the law already,

enacted by the essential unanimous vote of Congress. It is only included in the pending bill in order to amend so as to assure the exaction of a minimum interest rate by the Government, whereas the existing law leaves the grant of building loans subject to any whim of favoritism.

It should be kept in mind, also, that there are assured limitations of the Government aid proposed. The direct aid, with ocean carrying maintained at our present participation, will not reach twenty millions a year, and the maximum direct aid, if our shipping is so promoted that we carry one-half our deep-seas commerce, will not exceed thirty millions annually. At the very maximum of outlay we should be saving twenty millions of our present annual operating loss. If the maximum is ever reached, the establishment of our merchant marine will have been definitely recorded and the Government-owned fleet fortunately liquidated.

From this point of view it is the simple, incontestable wisdom of businesslike dealing to save all that is possible of the annual loss and avoid the millions sure to be lost to the Government's capital account in sacrificing our fleet. But there is a bigger, broader, more inspiring viewpoint, aye, a patriotic viewpoint. I refer to the constructive action of to-day, which offers the only dependable promise of making our war-time inheritance of ships the foundation of a great agency of commerce in peace and an added guaranty of service when it is necessary to our national defense.

Thus far I have been urging Government aid to American shipping, having in mind every interest of our producing population, whether of mine, factory, or farm, because expanding commerce is the foremost thought of every nation in the world to-day.

I believe in Government aid becomingly bestowed. We have aided industry through our tariffs; we have aided railway transportation in land grants and loans. We have aided the construction of market roads and the improvement of inland waterways. We have aided reclamation and irrigation and the development of water power; we have loaned for seed grains in anticipation of harvests. We expend millions in investigation and experimentation to promote a common benefit, though a limited few are the direct beneficiaries. We have loaned hundreds of millions to promote the marketing of American goods. It has all been commendable and highly worth while.

At the present moment the American farmer is the chief sufferer from the cruel readjustments which follow war's inflation, and befitting Government aid to our farmers is highly essential to our national welfare. No people may safely boast a good fortune which the farmer does not share.

Already this Congress and the administrative branch of the Government have given willing ear to the agricultural plea for postwar relief, and much has been done which has proven helpful. Admittedly, it is not enough. Our credit systems, under Government provision and control, must be promptly and safely broadened to relieve our agricultural distress. [Applause.]

To this problem and such others of pressing importance as reasonably may be dealt with in the short session I shall invite your attention at an early day.

I have chosen to confine myself to the specific problem of dealing with our merchant marine because I have asked you to assemble two weeks in advance of the regularly appointed time to expedite its consideration. The executive branch of the Government would feel itself remiss to contemplate our yearly loss and attending failure to accomplish if the conditions were not pressed for your decision. More, I would feel myself lacking in concern for America's future if I failed to stress the beckoning opportunity to equip the United States to assume a befitting place among the nations of the world whose commerce is inseparable from the good fortunes to which rightfully all peoples aspire. [Applause, the Members rising.]

At 1 o'clock and 4 minutes p. m. the President and the Members of his Cabinet retired from the Hall of the House.

Whereupon the President pro tempore and the Members of the Senate returned to their Chamber.

The SPEAKER. The joint session of the two Houses is now adjourned.

At 1 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m. the House resumed its session.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent—

Mr. CABLE (on request of Mr. ARENTZ) was granted leave of absence on account of important business.

Mr. BELL (on request of Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee) was granted leave of absence indefinitely on account of personal illness.

Mr. MCARTHUR (on request of Mr. HAWLEY) was granted leave of absence on account of illness and important business.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I think it would be interesting if the gentleman would withhold his motion for a moment to permit an inquiry. It would be interesting to Members of the House generally if they could know, providing the gentleman from Wyoming is in a position to state it, what the program will be to-morrow.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, the chairman of the Committee on Rules may present a rule to-morrow for the consideration of the shipping bill. That is likely to be done, although it has not been absolutely determined upon, but it is my expectation that a rule will be presented to-morrow for the consideration of the bill the balance of the week, beginning Thursday.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. To-morrow, of course, is Calendar Wednesday.

Mr. MONDELL. To-morrow would be Calendar Wednesday if it were not for the fact that we are within two weeks of the end of the session.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Well, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman understands one or two gentlemen desired a few minutes in which to address the House to-morrow, and I understood from the gentleman earlier in the day that that could be arranged.

Mr. MONDELL. I think that can be arranged, I will say to the gentleman.

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries reported a revised bill to-day and I am advised that they have also filed a supplemental report and we have not had an opportunity to see it, and it may not be printed. I do not know just when, but representing those who are opposed to the bill I ask the privilege of having time within which to file minority views, say, until and including Saturday.

Mr. MONDELL. Not to interfere with the consideration of the measure, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. I agree to that modification.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to have time within which to file minority views, not to interfere with the consideration of the measure. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, November 22, 1922, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII,

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. H. R. 12817. A bill to amend and supplement the merchant marine act, 1920, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1257). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 12387) granting an increase of pension to Emily E. Patison; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 12657) granting an increase of pension to George W. Powell; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 12723) granting a pension to Lewis Maple; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. McLAUGHLIN of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 12860) amending section 1 of the interstate commerce act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. STEVENSON: A bill (H. R. 12861) providing for the erection of a monument at Cowpens battle ground, Cherokee County, S. C., commemorative of Gen. Daniel Morgan and those who participated in the Battle of Cowpens on the 17th day of January, 1781; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. McPHERSON: A bill (H. R. 12862) granting pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the World War; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PARKS of Arkansas: A bill (H. R. 12863) for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Warren, Ark.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 12864) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a new public building at Pleasantville, N. J.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 12865) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil and Mexican Wars and to certain widows, former widows, minor children, and helpless children of said soldiers and sailors, and to widows of the War of 1812, and to certain Indian war veterans and widows; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHRISTOPHERSON: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 390) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas: Resolution (H. Res. 446) for the immediate consideration of H. R. 12817; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BACHARACH: A bill (H. R. 12866) for the relief of Thomas N. Emley; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FAUST: A bill (H. R. 12867) granting a pension to Elizabeth E. Shaw; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FITZGERALD: A bill (H. R. 12868) for the relief of Bernard Joseph Maley; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12869) for the relief of Frank A. Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12870) granting a pension to John H. Gibbs; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12871) granting an increase of pension to Ruben Riley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12872) granting a pension to Thomas Flynn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12873) granting an increase of pension to Paul Claire; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FOSTER: A bill (H. R. 12874) granting a pension to Robert Clyde McBride; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12875) granting a pension to Tracey M. Halley; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12876) granting a pension to Elizabeth Hawthorne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12877) granting a pension to Jennie Foster; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12878) granting a pension to Emma Van Duyn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12879) granting a pension to Ella Knowlton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12880) granting a pension to Margaret J. Essex; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOORE of Illinois: A bill (H. R. 12881) granting a pension to James A. Kelley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12882) granting an increase of pension to James H. Barker; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SEARS: A bill (H. R. 12883) granting a pension to Bertha Mann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SMITHWICK: A bill (H. R. 12884) for the relief of John N. Halladay; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 12885) granting a pension to Susan B. Cantlin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12886) to reimburse E. W. Hardendorf for supplies furnished the submarine chaser No. 328; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. STRONG of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 12887) granting a pension to Jacob F. Rosenberger; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TEMPLE: A bill (H. R. 12888) granting a pension to Lizzie C. Masters; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. TINCHER: A bill (H. R. 12889) granting a pension to William B. Kimbrel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. VOLK: A bill (H. R. 12890) for the relief of George E. Doty; to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 12891) granting a pension to John F. Kilbride; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

6420. By the SPEAKER (by request): Petition of San Francisco Labor Council, regarding the impeachment of the Attorney General and Federal Judge Wilkerson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

6421. By Mr. CULLEN: Petition of the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion, Washington, D. C., favoring adjusted compensation for soldiers of the late war; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

6422. By Mr. KAHN: Petition of the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion, Washington, D. C., favoring retirement of enlisted men of the Army after 25 years' service with retired pay of not less than \$100 per month and allowances; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

6423. Also, petition of the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion, Washington, D. C., favoring the passage of S. 1565, providing for retirement under certain conditions of officers of the United States Army, other than officers of the Regular Army, who incurred physical disability in line of duty while in the service of the United States during the World War; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

6424. By Mr. KISSEL: Petition of the Armenian Committee, of New Orleans, La., favoring freedom of Armenia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

6425. By Mr. ROSSDALE: Petition of Creston Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, regarding the Turkish situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

6426. By Mr. SNYDER: Resolution of the Women's Club of Albuquerque, N. Mex., in regard to the proposed all-the-year national park in southern New Mexico; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

6427. Also, petition of the South Congregational Church of Utica, N. Y., favoring adequate protection of the minority population under Turkish rule and asking representation on the part of the United States in Near East affairs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, November 22, 1922.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. Muir, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Gracious Father, Thou hast been with us in the days gone by. Thou art still the helper of those who trust in Thee. We can rely upon Thine own strong arm, Thy wisdom, and Thy graciousness in all the perplexities and burdens of life. Give us light in our darkness, strength in our weakness, and hope in our despondency, and ever lead us onward through the mazes and contradictions of possible trouble. We ask in Jesus' name. Amen.

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia, and CHARLES A. RAWSON, a Senator from the State of Iowa, appeared in their seats to-day.

The reading clerk proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. CURTIS and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

CALL OF THE ROLL.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The reading clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ball	Fletcher	McKellar	Simmons
Bayard	Frelinghuysen	McKinley	Smith
Borah	Glass	McNary	Smoot
Brandeggee	Gooding	Nelson	Spencer
Broussard	Hale	Nicholson	Stanfield
Cameron	Harrell	Norris	Sterling
Capper	Harris	Overman	Sutherland
Caraway	Harrison	Page	Swanson
Colt	Heflin	Pepper	Trammell
Culberson	Hitchcock	Pittman	Wadsworth
Cummins	Kellogg	Pomerene	Walsh, Mass.
Curtis	Keyes	Ransdell	Walsh, Mont.
Dial	Ladd	Rawson	Warren
Edge	La Follette	Reed, Pa.	Willis
Ernst	Lodge	Sheppard	
Felton	McCumber	Shortridge	

Mr. HEFLIN. My colleague [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is absent on account of illness.